



# PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES



Palestine Research and Educational Center

March 1984



U.S. MARINES EVACUATING LEBANON

# Editorial Editorial Editorial

## MUBARAK'S ADVICE

Two Arab heads of states came to Washington in February to remind the Reagan administration that the conflict in the Middle East is much broader than the conflict in Lebanon. President Mubarak of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan were understandably concerned with the fact that the Reagan administration progressively narrowed its scope of vision until the Middle East shrank to the size of the Beirut International Airport. It was as if the President were determined to make the problem manageable by pretending that, with the exception of an annoying fragment, it miraculously went away.

So Mubarak and Hussein came to remind the President that the Palestinians are still without national rights; that only the PLO is entitled to speak on their behalf; that Israel is still trying to perpetuate its dispossession of the Palestinians by its continuing Judaization of the West Bank and Gaza; and that the obsession with the affairs of the multinational force has concealed the need for concern with the profound and endemic injustices which made it all happen in the first place.

Israel and its proxies in this country were furious. They worked hard at manipulating events and information to bring about the absurd belief that if only the Shiites in the southern suburbs of Beirut would stop sniping at the marines in the airport, everybody would live happily ever after. Then came Hussein and Mubarak to cast doubt on what has become conventional wisdom in the White House.

The Israelis made Mr. Reagan feel guilty for allowing his guests to express "unorthodox" views, and demanded resi-

tution for such an infamous act. There is nothing surprising about all of this.

The Israelis developed into a fine art the practice of being traumatized by the slightest provocation, and thus managed to extort indemnities for both real and fictitious injuries. The strange thing is how American governments have been conditioned to respond instinctively to every Israeli outcry.

The outcome of the affair was that Mubarak and Hussein, America's closest friends in the Arab world, returned disowned as well as empty handed. The Reagan administration not only disavowed their advice in order to reassure Israel, but it also overruled the Pentagon by approving Israel's use of \$250 million of U.S. aid money to develop its Lavi fighter plane, and appointed a Jewish Republican, Laurence H. Silberman, as one of the President's special Middle East negotiators.

What the Arabs need to learn from this experience, and a hundred others just like it, is that the White House is a political arena, not a court of law. For that reason, it is futile to make your argument and rest your case. But politics has its own rules. An argument is never enough. In politics, you must give the other party an *incentive* to be fair. Arab heads of states need to learn this lesson, or learn not to bother to try again.

The Egyptian president and the Jordanian monarch did the right thing by trying to cure the astigmatism of the Reagan administration's Middle East policy. But now they must find ways to make it clear that neither Jordan nor Egypt would accept being used to legitimize the disfranchisement and dispossession of the Palestinian people. And they must find ways to make it clear that no one who tries to do so can count them among his friends. □



**Palestine Perspectives** is published monthly by:

**Palestine Research and Educational Center**  
818 18th Street, NW, Suite 645  
Washington, DC 20006

*Telephone:* (202) 466-3205

*Editor:* Dr. Muhammad Hallaj  
*Assistant Editor:* Khalil Jahshan  
*Production Manager:* Foster K. Tucker

Signed articles express the views of their authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Palestine Research and Educational Center.

*Subscription rates:* In the U.S. and Canada, \$15/year (\$10 to students). Elsewhere, \$25/year. Single copies, \$1.50.



### SUBSCRIPTION ORDER

Enclosed is my payment of \$  for a one-year subscription to **Palestine Perspectives**.

Name:

Address:

City/State/Zip:

Rates: \$15/yr for regular subscriptions; \$10 to students; \$25 outside the U.S. and Canada.

## THEY ALSO TOOK THE WATER

*Dr. Hisham Awartani*

Water is a strategic resource in the Middle East, perhaps more so than oil. For the Palestinians under Israeli occupation in particular, the significance of water transcends purely economic consideration. Control over their own water resources constitutes a crucial link in their struggle to remain on the land, as they face Israel's systematic onslaught to deprive them of the wherewithal of survival.

Agriculture is central to the West Bank economy. It generates about 30% of the Gross Domestic Product and absorbs a similar percentage of the labor force. Of the total area of 5.57 million dunums (1 dunum = 1/4 acre), 2.1 million dunums or 28.1% are cultivated. Ninety-six percent of the cultivated area is rainfed, and irrigated agriculture makes up only 4% of the cultivated land. Yet, its contribution vastly exceeds this minuscule ratio: one-third of agricultural income is estimated to come from irrigated fields. Moreover, irrigated agriculture responds more rapidly to modern techniques, and its production is steadier since it is not at the mercy of erratic fluctuations in rainfall.

Artesian wells are the main source of irrigation water on the West Bank; there are no lakes or rivers. The 300 or so springs discharge small quantities of water, are subject to seasonal fluctuations, and suffer from neglect. In addition, collection wells, which number 5,000 to 10,000, and which played an important role in the social and economic history of Palestine, have declined in importance, in part due to the accelerating construction of pipe networks. On the eve of Israel's occupation, the West Bank had 314 artesian wells under operation, mainly in the Plains region of the North, and in the Jordan Valley. The capacity of all wells was estimated at 35 million cubic meters/year. Israel's campaign to control water in the West Bank has targeted these wells.

During the last 30 years, Israel has basically utilized all water resources available to it, most of which flow initially from outside the 1948 borders in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the West Bank. As a result of the intensification of settlements inside and outside the 1948 boundaries, coupled with general economic growth, Israel faces a potential water shortage. Most recent Israeli estimates put the deficit at 450 million cubic meters/year by the mid-1980's. It should be borne in mind, however, that "shortage" is a relative term: the average per capita consumption of water in all sectors in Israel is 3.5 to 4 times higher than on the West Bank; the ratio increases to 6 to 7 times for domestic water.

In theory, Israel can choose among several alternatives to overcome this potential shortage. Most of them—desalination using nuclear power, treatment of sewerage water, replacing sprinklers with the more efficient drip irrigation—will not be feasible for various political, economic and technological reasons before the end of the century. The remaining options are either to draw water from the Litani River in Lebanon and the Yarmouk River in Syria, or to exploit West Bank water. Thus far Israel has opted for the latter.

At the moment, Israel gets one-third to one-half of its



water from the West Bank by channeling both surface and ground water to the aquifers in the plain of the Western slopes. This may mean that Israel would not countenance a political solution on the West Bank which might jeopardize this water source. On the West Bank itself, Israeli authorities started to drill water wells in the early days of the occupation, especially along the Jordan River in line with what was then called the Allon Plan. Now, Israeli-dug wells are found all over the West Bank. Although official reports put the number of such wells at 17, Palestinian sources estimate them at 27. In any case, the volume of water pumped from them amounts to 40-50% of that derived from all the 314 Palestinian wells. In addition, some settlements and military bases obtain relatively large quantities of water from Palestinian springs and wells, either via pipe networks or tank trucks.

This is but one side of a double edged policy. For while Israel allows itself generous use of Arab water, it imposes manifold restrictions on the Palestinians. Examples abound. The military government has set a ceiling of 35 million cubic meters/year on water pumped from Arab wells, claiming that the restriction is necessary to avoid water salination. If we compare the discharge of Arab wells, 37 million cubic meters/year, with that of Israel's (1150 million cubic meters), however, we cannot take these claims seriously. Another type of restriction Israel imposes is the prohibition on the drilling of new wells, except for the village of al-Ouja (see below). Even drinking water has come under severe control. Only 7 drinking water wells have been drilled since 1967 in spite of the growth in demand for water from an increasing population and urbanization. The Ramallah municipality was denied a permit to dig a new well, and was obliged to accept water from Makorot, the Israeli water company, thus becoming ever more vulnerable to Israeli political control. So far, other towns have resisted taking such a course.

Using the grounds of "national security," the occupation authorities continually harass the farmers, if not prevent them from farming altogether, especially in the irrigated regions. In the early days of the occupation, the Israeli army demolished 140 water pumps in the Ghor Valley along the Jordan River, and closed large tracts of land (30,000 dunums) in the same area to farming. In 1979, it bulldozed the irrigation canal in Jiflek in the Jordan Valley. Recently, American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) offered to replace dirt canals in these areas with pipes, but was not permitted to do so despite the fact that both American and Palestinian experts thought the project would double the efficiency of water use.

The adverse impact of these policies on Palestinian agriculture cannot be overestimated. Overall, agricultural production has seriously declined. It is estimated that grain output has been reduced by 28%, vegetables 18%, and mel-

*(continued on page 3)*

## WATER (continued from page 2)

ons 89% in the six years following the Israeli occupation. The only rise in production has been registered in the case of fruits, and by a meager seven percentage points at that. Add to this the blocking of the planned expansion of irrigated land by 40% in the Jordan Valley, for which water was to be provided by the East Ghor Canal. Agriculture in the Western Plains region suffered as well, both by the prohibition of drilling new wells and constraints imposed on those still in operation. Agronomists postulate that additional 200,000 dunums could be brought under intensive cultivation were it possible to start new wells.

The decline of agricultural production has had a profound impact on the social and economic structures of the West Bank. Agriculture, once the main source of income for the majority of the population and employer of the labor force, has been relegated to a secondary status. A large number of Palestinian farmers and farm laborers have been turned into wage workers in Israeli farms and factories. Their earnings now constitute the backbone of the West Bank's economy, enabling Israel further to tighten its grip on the occupied territories. The story of the village of al-Ouja is a case in point.

Al-Ouja is located in the Jordan Valley, ten kilometers north of Jericho. Out of 8,000 inhabitants before June 1967, only 2,000 remained in the village in the aftermath of the war. Before 1967, al-Ouja was one of the most important production centers of bananas, citrus, and vegetables in the West Bank. In 1978-79, the cultivated land was estimated at 9,700 dunums.

Farmers obtained their water from the al-Ouja spring and artesian wells. The spring was one of the largest in the West Bank, with an annual discharge of 5.7 million cubic meters. Al-Ouja's troubles began when Israeli authorities dug three wells in the vicinity of the village's spring in order to supply water for the newly-established Jewish settlements of Yitav and Gilgal. There followed a sharp decline in the discharge of the spring; with low rainfall in the following years, the spring completely dried up in early 1970. The consequences were catastrophic: 1,300 dunums of bananas and 150 dunums of citrus, worth \$2.7 million, were lost. Vegetable growing was reduced by 2,000 dunums; most of this has been under drip irrigation, so capital losses in pumps, pipes and irrigation pools was considerable. As a result, 1,500 villagers migrated and the majority of the 500 who stayed became wage laborers in nearby Israeli settlements. While Palestinians in al-Ouja lacked even drinking water, Jewish settlers in Gilgal, a few miles to the north, splashed around in swimming pools.

Thanks to local protest and a campaign in the international press, the military government agreed to supply the village with drinking water from an "Israeli" well. After more pressure from the international media, Israel finally licensed the drilling of two wells in al-Ouja, so that the remnants of that community can at least survive. □

*Dr. Hisham Awartani is an agricultural economist and teaches at Najah National University in Nablus, West Bank. The article was originally prepared in 1981 for the Arab Thought Forum in Jerusalem, and was condensed and translated from Arabic by Mr. Sharif S. Elmusa.*

## HAVE GUNS, WILL TRAVEL

### ISRAEL: CENTRAL AMERICA'S MERCHANT OF DEATH

by Frank Shaffer-Corona

Since the end of World War II the world has been subjected to an on-going series of armed conflicts which appear to be totally senseless if viewed without benefit of a common threat. One clarifying lens which brings close to forty years of military madness into focus is the realization that the First World (the West) has been engaged in mortal combat with the Second World (the East) over the nebulous goal of world supremacy. Further sharpness is added to the picture when one connects the filter of awareness that, during the same period of time, the First World has been steadily and intensely making war on the Third World as well. It is even clearer that Israel has enthusiastically chosen for itself a prominent role on the second front of this global conflict—having become in one short decade a leading arms merchant throughout the Third World.

Historians generally agree that World War II can trace its roots directly to the economic origins of fascism as much as to the dependence of fascism for its existence upon conquest through war. The economic struggle for the markets and the resources of the world left unsettled by World War I was also not determined with finality by the Second World War. The Third World is actually the prize at stake in the unending string of conflicts which have scarred the face of the twentieth century since 1946. The First World has been the only one of the major players with sufficient resources to wage the kind of two-front war necessary to simultaneously compete with the rival and debilitate the potential subject. One of the most valuable resources in the West's arsenal has been the burgeoning military capability of its Middle Eastern outpost, the State of Israel. It is a weapon which has been used most effectively in the efforts of the United States to quell the aspirations for freedom of the people of Central America.

In a few short years Israel has become the chief arms supplier to Central America. In that same period of time Israel has become, according to Central Intelligence Agency estimates, the fifth largest producer and exporter of arms in the world. The Reagan Administration, which has made a great deal of noise about cutting off the arms flow to Central America, has not only remained silent, but has also been supportive of Israel's role in the region. In the U.S. Congress even the strongest foes of the Administration's Central American policies prefer to ignore the phenomenon of massive Israeli involvement in the conflicts there.

Prior to 1967, Israel's participation in arms manufacture had been limited to small arms and ammunition primarily for use by its own forces. It is estimated that exports were limited to some \$10 million per year. When France cut off arms supplies to Israel as a result of its seizure of the occupied territories in 1967, Israel became dependent on the U.S. as its only supplier of weapons. The 1973 War confirmed to Tel Aviv's military planners that this was too short a leash. After 1967 Israel began to take steps to reduce the constraints of that dependence. Huge investments were made in the development of an independent armaments

industry. 1973 marks the point when Israel hit the big time as an arms exporter.

The first major order came from the ruling junta in El Salvador in 1973. That first sale consisted of 18 rebuilt French fighter-bombers and six basic trainers. Since then, one of the most popular items sold throughout Latin America by Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI), which is owned by the state, has been the Arava short take-off-and-landing tactical transport aircraft. The Arava can be equipped with its own array of weaponry, making it an effective combat plane for use in Central America's mountainous and tropical terrain.

Other Israeli weapons much in demand in Central America have been the Kfir fighter plane, the Uzi submachine gun and the Galil assault rifle. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Israel was supplying 98 percent of the armaments to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza just before his regime fell to the Sandinista revolution in 1979. The same source places Israel's contribution to Guatemala at over 90 percent and to El Salvador at 83 percent of arms imports.

Israel's stepped-up military involvement with the repressive regimes of Latin America was set in place in time to curiously coincide with President Jimmy Carter's much-touted human rights program, which resulted in the termination of military aid to many of these same governments. Israel's willingness to step into what is, in reality, a public relations vacuum must be viewed as more than mere coincidence. The U.S. has always considered Latin America as its own "turf." Since World War II, the trends toward self-determination, democracy, and economic improvement in that region have resulted in enormous pressures for the U.S. Israel, which receives easily half of the U.S. "investment" in foreign aid each year, has been in a position to translate those dollars into armaments which can then be placed in the hands of those regimes whose policies benefit U.S. interests.

According to Israeli psychology professor Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, who has devoted himself to being practically a one-man crusade on these issues, Israelis pride themselves on being "tougher" than the U.S. and, hence, more willing to treat those political waters where sympathy toward blatant human rights violators would tarnish the U.S. "human rights" image. Latin Americans, whatever their political bent, have tired of the U.S. attitude that they should be treated as colonies of the "Colossus of the North." That impatience has led to the present circumstances, where the only choices seem to be between repression and revolution. According to Beit-Hallahmi, Israel often takes the initiative in its actions in the hope that they will be ratified and eventually repaid by a grateful United States government. U.S. worship at the altar of Zionist militaristic expansion seems to bear out the practicality of the Israeli strategy.

Nor is Central America Israel's only area of concentration in the Americas. Under the military junta, Argentina, famous for its persecution of its own Jewish citizens, became Israel's second most important trading partner—the number-one position is consistently held by South Africa. There are also close ties between Israel and Pinochet's Chile. Paraguay and Uruguay, both havens for Nazi war criminals, are also on the list of friendly clients.



#### NEW PUBLICATIONS

from

Palestine Research and Educational Center

■ Muhammad Hallaj, **The Palestinians and the PLO.** Information Papers Series, No. 1, September 1983. \$1.00

■ Alfred T. Moleah, **Israel and South Africa: Partners in Repression.** Information Papers Series, No. 2, January 1984. \$1.00

■ Yehoshua Sobol, **You Can Only Weep.** Life Under Occupation Series, No. 1, September 1983. Free

■ Avigdor Feldman, **The West Bank: Oppression by Law.** Life Under Occupation Series, No. 2, January 1984. Free

In order to receive these publications call or write:

Palestine Research and Educational Center

818 18th Street, NW, Suite 645

Washington, DC 20006

(202) 466-3205

In fact, virtually every Latin American country, with the exception of Brazil, which has its own flourishing arms industry, has purchased armaments from Israel.

Perhaps the closest of these relationships has been with Guatemala, one of the most brutal violators of human rights in the world. Between 1977 and 1981, as a result of Carter's human rights policy, Israel became the sole supplier of weapons to that country. There are some 300 Israeli military advisors operating in Guatemala, a hundred in El Salvador, and a similar contingent in Honduras. Israel is also arming and training Costa Rica's police force.

The Likud government's Economic Coordination Minister, Yaakov Meridor, has openly touted Israel's offer to serve as the intermediary of the U.S. to the world's most repugnant regimes. "We have developed a technology of domination," he has said.

In the past, the U.S. has been very possessive about other Western countries operating in what it has viewed as its own "back yard." The Israeli transfer to the Nicaraguan *contras* of PLO weapons captured in Lebanon, the huge arms sales to circumvent U.S. law, the presence of military advisors, in short, the ever-escalating Israeli military presence in Central America serves as a sign that the U.S.-Israeli strategic accord extends well beyond the Middle East. It also indicates an awareness in Tel Aviv and a fear in Washington that the U.S. military adventure in Central America is as much on shaky ground as was the one in Lebanon. If Mr. Reagan is at all serious about curtailing the arms flow to Central America, he must begin to apply pressure on his most expensive client state before it is too late. □



# PLO News and Views

## KARAMEH DAY

On March 21 of every year, the Palestinians commemorate KARAMEH DAY. On that day in 1968, a small band of Palestinian fighters withstood and repelled a sizeable Israeli force which invaded Jordanian territory in the first of an unending series of Israeli attempts to crush the Palestinian Resistance.

The major battle centered around the Karameh Refugee Camp, east of the River Jordan. After a day-long battle, the Israeli forces had to withdraw after sustaining heavy losses and failing to achieve their objectives. Patriotic Jordanian army units, stationed in nearby areas, assisted the Palestinian fighters.

The Battle of Karameh became a symbol of Palestinian resolve to stand up to Israeli aggression, and evidence for the rest of the Arab nation to the efficacy of popular armed struggle, which today inspires the Lebanese Nationalist Forces in their struggle to liberate their country. □

## PNC MEMBERS DENIED EXIT

The Israeli press reported that Israel rejected an Egyptian request to allow members of the Palestine National Council living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza to attend the forthcoming PNC session. The request was reportedly made by Shafii Abdul Hamid, Deputy Foreign Minister of Egypt.

The Egyptians, who have been trying in vain to persuade Israel to adopt a less repressive policy toward the Palestinians in the occupied territories, argued that the presence of the 160-member delegation from the occupied territories at the PNC meeting is likely to enhance the chances of a negotiated peace settlement. □

## KADDOUMI IN DAMASCUS

Mr. Farouk Kaddoumi, the head of the Political Department of the PLO, visited the Syrian capital for several days during the third week of February. During his visit to Damascus, Mr. Kaddoumi conferred with Mr. Abdel Halim Khaddam, Syria's foreign minister.

The visit was apparently agreed upon during the recent Islamic summit conference, and was the first high level contact between Syrian and PLO officials since Palestinian-Syrian relations deteriorated last November. □

## PLO CONDOLENCES TO SOVIET UNION

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser Arafat joined many world leaders in attending the funeral of the late Soviet President Yuri Andropov. During his visit to Moscow, he conferred with several heads of states who attended Andropov's funeral. □

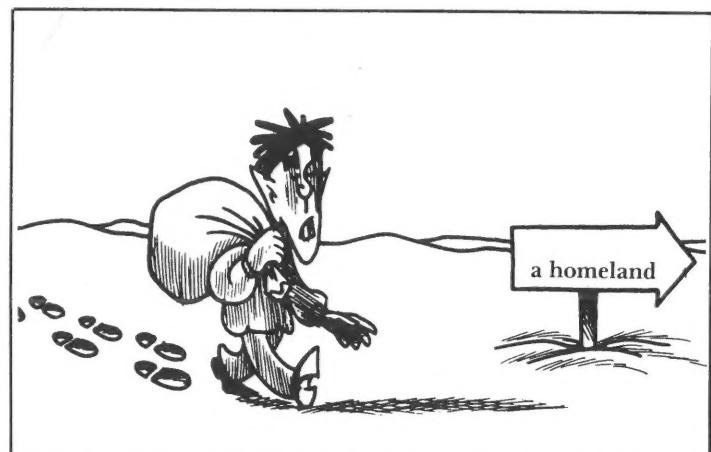
## ARAFAT RECEIVES MESSAGE FROM GANDHI

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat received a message from Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the prime minister of India, in which she affirmed her full support for the Palestinian struggle for national independence. Mrs. Gandhi expressed a desire to sustain India's close relations with the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative. The message was conveyed to Mr. Arafat in Tunis by Ramesh Bhandari, secretary of the Indian External Affairs Ministry. □

## PRCS HONORS SCANDINAVIANS

A delegation from the Palestine Red Crescent Society, headed by the Society's president Dr. Fathi Arafat, visited Sweden and Norway. The Palestinian delegation thanked Swedish and Norwegian officials and representatives of these countries' committees of solidarity with the Palestinian people for their humanitarian assistance.

Dr. Arafat presented the medal of humanitarian effort to 160 Norwegians and 70 Swedes who contributed medical service to the Palestinian people. □



## PALESTINE MOURNS A POET

The well-known Palestinian poet Mu'in Bseiso died of a heart attack in London on January 24, at the age of 57. The Israeli military occupation authorities refused his family's request to allow the return of his body to Palestine for burial in Gaza, his hometown.

Mr. Bseiso is a graduate of the American University in Cairo. Throughout his life, he championed the cause of Palestinian rights. He served as a cultural advisor to the Chairman of the PLO; and at the time of his death he was a member of the Palestine National Council.

He is best known as a poet and dramatist. He produced eleven collections of poetry and seven plays. His works were translated into many languages and performed in many countries. In 1981, he was awarded the Lotus Prize, the highest award given by the Federation of Asian and African writers.

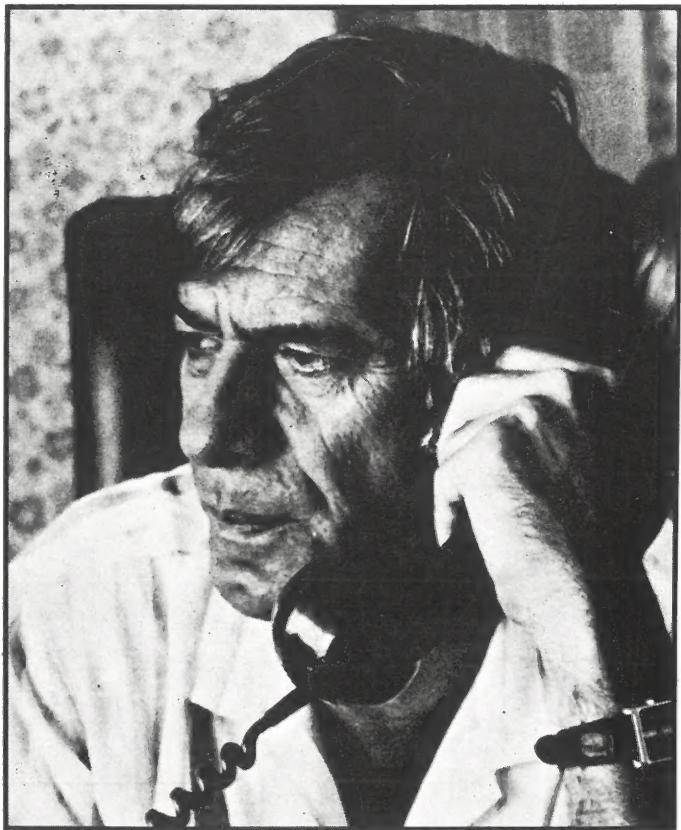
When Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, Mr. Bseiso returned to Beirut from abroad "to die among the Palestinian people," as he put it. A few days after the invasion, he wrote a poem called "You Will Not Enter Beirut," which was read several times every day on the radio station of the Lebanese Nationalist Forces and became the song of the resistance throughout the Israeli siege of Beirut. □

## PLO-U.S. TALKS

An exchange of views between PLO and U.S. officials took place over an extended period of time, through an American intermediary, until it was terminated by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982. This open secret became general knowledge when the *New York Times* published an article about PLO-U.S. contacts between August 1981 and May 1982, in which Dr. John Edwin Mroz conveyed messages between PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and the State Department.

Two important aspects of this episode which deserve comment are being ignored while the debate rages over who knew and who did not know about PLO-U.S. contacts:

1. If, as the *Times* reported, the contacts began with a Palestinian proposal to work out a formula by which the

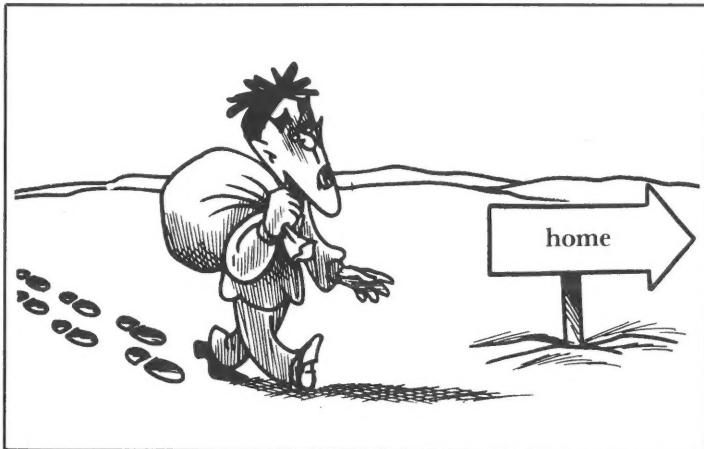


Mu'in Bseiso

PLO would recognize Israel's right to exist and pertinent U.N. resolutions in exchange for U.S. recognition of the PLO, then why is the U.S. administration so defensive about the contacts? After all, the declared policy of the U.S. government is that it would be willing to recognize the PLO if it recognized Israel.

2. Why was this time in particular chosen to leak the story? Is it because it fits with Israel's campaign of pressure on the Reagan administration to ignore Mubarak's advice to talk to the PLO?

In fact, the episode raises another important question: Was the timing of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon chosen to disrupt an impending Palestinian-American understanding? □





## Life Under Occupation

### HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Reverse anti-semitism has become a fact of life in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza. A recent (November 1983) report on "Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, 1978-1983," published by the Tel Aviv based Israeli International Center for Peace in the Middle East, said that "A reality of two different systems of law for two groups living in the occupied territories is continually growing." Discrimination against the Arab population in favor of Jewish settlers has become a legal reality. "In almost every encounter between members of the two communities," the report concluded, "preference for the Jew is a priori guaranteed by law."

The 203-page report, based on research done by a group of Israeli researchers headed by David Zucker, continues to say that Israel established in the occupied territories "an administrative system allowing discrimination," and that "Israeli rule in the territories has no checks and balances to restrain these tendencies."

The report confirms "the extensive, almost daily use of collective punishment" against the Palestinian population of the occupied territories, and that "human rights in the territories are continuously and extensively violated." Furthermore, the report states that Israeli censorship of Arab publications "is essentially for political and not security reasons," thus confirming the findings of an earlier report on the censorship of Arab publications in the occupied territories (see *Palestine Perspectives*, February 1984).

In her "Foreword" to the report, member of the Israeli Knesset Shulamit Aloni wrote that "After the 1967 war, we became occupiers, not only aggrieving the Palestinian population on the political level but also on the needs for security." The *(continued on page 11)*

### ANALYSIS... TERRORISM IN ISRAEL

In view of the fact that Israel advertises itself as the indefatigable crusader against terrorism, it is instructive to observe that in reality it has become the safest haven of terrorism. Aside from official terrorism, practiced by the state of Israel itself against Palestinians under its occupation and in the diaspora, there has been an upsurge of terrorism and popular support for it in Israeli society.

A recent public opinion poll in Israel, published in the *Jerusalem Post* of January 13, 1984, showed that 18.7 percent of the Israelis support terrorist activities by Jewish groups against the Palestinian civilian population in the occupied territories. Among supporters of Likud, the Israeli governing coalition, the percentage reaches 26.2. And there is growing evidence of Israeli official complicity in the matter. Israeli terrorists, who have recently targeted Palestinian schools, mosques and churches, such as the group which calls itself "Terror Against Terror," are army-trained, use Israeli army weapons, and are sheltered and protected by the Israeli security agencies. They get away with murder. It is an open secret in Israel, for example, that the identities of the terrorists who murdered three students and wounded more than thirty others during an attack on the campus of the University of Hebron in the summer of 1983 are known to the police. But none of them has been apprehended and tried.

To justify Israel's tolerance of its terrorists, the Israeli defense minister, Moshe Arens, recently said that "Israeli society has not created the tools with which to cope with the TNT [Hebrew acronym for Terror Against Terror] terrorist group." This is indeed a puzzling inadequacy in a state which claims to lead the struggle against global terrorism.

Israeli Zionism which dehumanizes the Palestinians and glorifies their dispossession and other acts of repression against them is bound to degenerate into terrorism. The rising popularity of terrorism in Israel testifies to this fact. □

### NAZARETH RALLY AGAINST RACISM

I have never imagined even in my worst dreams that I will participate in a rally against racism and discrimination in Israel. What has caused us [Jews] who suffered from discrimination for thousands of years to practice racial discrimination against the Arabs in Israel? What a malignant disease!

Dr. Tzvi Kolokovski  
*Al-Ittihad*  
29 January 1984

Over three thousand Arabs and Jews held a rally in Nazareth to protest the upsurge in racism and discrimination throughout Israeli society. The rally, the largest of its kind in Israeli history, was attended by Arab and Jewish representatives of different progressive and human rights groups.

In addressing the participants, Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad of Nazareth expressed concern over the wide-

spread manifestation of anti-Arab racism among Israeli Jews, particularly the recent public statements calling for "the expulsion of Arabs from Israel." Knesset Member Shulamit Aloni said: "We are not here as Jews or Arabs, but as human beings struggling for human rights, dignity and equality." Ms. Aloni expressed the hope that "we will soon see the day when racism becomes a criminal offence...and only citizenship and not nationality appears in Israeli identification cards." Aloni was followed by her colleague in the Knesset, Hayka Grossman who expressed solidarity with the struggle to achieve complete equality of rights for all citizens. Grossman added: "No nation will ever succeed to build its future on the ruins of another people. Racism is also a Jewish problem... All of us must reject racism and combat extremism in our respective camps." Writer Mordechai

*(continued on page 9)*

# TOWN ARREST: A FORM OF COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

One of the many forms of harassment used by the Israeli occupation authorities against the Palestinians living under their control is "town arrest." The military authorities can restrict the freedom of movement of any person without charges or trial and for an indefinite period of time.

This form of harassment is frequently used by the Israelis. Amnesty International reported in 1983 that from 1980-82, no less than 107 "town arrests" were ordered by the occupation authorities.

In 1945, before Israel existed and when Palestine was still governed under the British mandate, the British authorities in Palestine promulgated a set of regulations which severely curtailed freedom in Palestine. At that time, leaders of the Jewish minority in Palestine, who later became Israel's leaders, protested against these regulations and described them as the tyrannical acts of a police state. Since Israel became a state in 1948, it used the same regulations [the 1945 Defense (Emergency) Regulations] to harass Palestinians living under its jurisdiction. After the rest of Palestine (the West Bank and Gaza) were occupied in 1967, Israel promulgated a similar set of regulations [Security Provisions Order 378] to harass the people of the occupied territories.

In January 1984, the Israeli Knesset approved the extension of the validity of the "emergency regulations" in the occupied territories. At the same time it authorized the Israeli minister of justice to apply Israeli laws to the Jewish settlements. Dani Rubinstein described this action (in *Davar* of January 4, 1984) as the legalization of discrimination in the West Bank and Gaza. It institutes a government of laws for Jews and government by military decrees for Arabs.

To show how closely Israel is guided by unworthy models, we produce below parallel articles from the British 1945 Defense (Emergency) Regulations and Israel's Security Provisions Order 378 of 1970, both of which authorize "town arrests" in practically identical language:

*Britain: 1945*  
*Article 110 of the 1945*  
*Defense (Emergency) Regulations*

110. 1. A Military Commander may by order direct that any person shall be placed under police supervision for any period not exceeding one year.

2. Any person placed under police supervision by order as aforesaid shall be subject to all or any of the following restrictions as the Military Commander may direct, that is to say:

(a) he shall be required to reside within the limits of any area in Palestine specified by the Military Commander in the order;

(b) he shall not be permitted to transfer his residence to any other area in the same police district without the written authority of the District Superintendent of Police,...

(c) he shall not leave the town, village or Sub-District within which he resides without the written authority of the District Superintendent of Police;

(d) he shall at all times keep the District Superintendent of Police of the police district in which he resides notified of the house or the place in which he resides;

(e) he shall be liable, whenever called upon so to do by the officer in charge of the police in the area in which he resides, to present himself at the nearest police station;

(f) he shall remain within the doors of his residence from one hour after sunset until sunrise, and may be visited at his residence at any time by the police.

3. Any person in respect of whom an order has been made under sub-regulation (1) and (2) may be arrested by any police officer or by any member of His Majesty's forces and conveyed to the area in which he should be.

4. If any person against whom an order has been made as aforesaid contravenes the terms of the said order or of this regulation, he shall be guilty of an offence against these Regulations.

*Israel: 1970*  
*Article 86 of the 1970*  
*Security Provisions Order 378*

a) A Military Commander may by order direct that any person shall be placed under special supervision.

b) Any person placed under special supervision in accordance with this section shall be subject to all or any of the following restrictions, as the Military Commander may direct:

(1) he shall be required to reside within the limits of a particular place in the Region specified by the Military Commander in the order;

(2) he shall not leave the town, village, or district within which he resides without the written authority of the Military Commander;

(3) he shall at all times notify the Military Commander, or a person directed by the Military Commander, of the house or place in which he resides;

(4) whenever required by the Military Commander he shall be liable to present himself at a place specified by the Commander;

(5) he shall remain within doors during such hours as the Military Commander may specify in the order.

c) Any person in respect of whom an order has been made under subsections (a) and (b) may be arrested by any soldier and conveyed to the area in which he should be.

d) Any person who contravenes an order under this section shall be guilty of an offence under this Order.

## RALLY (continued from page 7)

Avi Sha'ul, chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights accused the Israeli government of racist practices and policies. In reference to Ariel Sharon, he stated that "the present cabinet includes among its members a criminal officer who carried out massacres since the fifties. Here lies the basis of evil. We call upon 61 members of the Knesset to adopt new legislation to safeguard human rights which would then lead to the fall of this corrupt government."

The participants adopted the following resolutions:

1. We denounce racist incitement and discriminatory practices against the Arabs calling instead for coexistence based on equality and mutual respect.
2. We call on the Israeli government to nullify all laws and regulations which discriminate against Arabs on the basis of their nationality. We also call for new legislation outlawing racist incitement.

3. We call upon the Israeli government to adopt a policy based on complete equality between Arabs and Jews.

The rally was symbolically held in Nazareth to protest the racist Jewish movement in Upper Nazareth aimed at preventing Arab citizens from living in Jewish neighborhoods. According to a recent public opinion poll published in *Ha'aretz* (January 30, 1984), the problem is not restricted to Upper Nazareth. The findings of the nationwide poll conducted by the PORI institute show that over half of the Jewish public in Israeli society is opposed to Jews and Arabs residing in the same neighborhoods. Fifty-three percent said they were opposed to living in the same apartment building with Arabs, 33 percent approved.

Analysis of the findings according to party affiliation indicates that the strongest opposition to joint Arab and Jewish residence (75 percent) was registered among supporters of TAMI, Tehiya and the religious parties. Opposition reached 68 percent among Likud voters and 44 percent among Alignment voters. □

## PALESTINIAN GUARDS FOIL ATTEMPT TO BLOW UP AL-AQSA MOSQUE

An attempt by Israeli fanatics to blow up al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem was foiled by alert Palestinian guards on January 27. Al-Aqsa is the third holiest shrine in the Moslem world, and one of the outstanding examples of Arabic-Islamic architecture anywhere in the world.

The attempt was discovered when an unarmed Palestinian guard surprised a group of 6 or 7 Israeli terrorists as they scaled the walls of the mosque, using a rope ladder. They were carrying boxes of explosives and hand grenades. The Palestinian guard, using his radio to summon help, was joined by others. About 30 Palestinian guards, all unarmed since the Israelis forbid Palestinians to carry weapons, converged on the group of Israeli attackers forcing them to flee, leaving behind them their explosives and equipment.

The Israeli daily, *Yediot Aharanot*, said that the terrorists escaped in an Israeli military truck, and that the police are investigating reports by eyewitnesses that Israeli soldiers and possibly officers were involved.

## BZU CLOSED

The Israeli military occupation authorities closed the old campus of Birzeit University for three months starting February 2, 1984. Birzeit University has a second campus, but it is still under construction, and the closure of the old campus paralyzes the university since it is used by about two-thirds of the faculty and student body, the entire administration, food services, the library, the research and documentation center, and the telephone switchboard.

The university was closed as punishment for a student demonstration protesting the murder of a boy in Nablus a few days earlier. A statement issued by the university said that this is the eighth time it has been ordered closed by the Israelis since the occupation of the West Bank in 1967. In the academic year 1981-82, Birzeit University was closed three times for a total of seven months. □

A spokesman for the Islamic *waqf*, which is responsible for the mosque and other Islamic religious sites, said the operation indicated the intruders had had military training. It was also reported that the police attributed the attack to an Israeli terrorist group, "Terror Against Terror," which claimed responsibility for a series of explosions in Moslem and Christian religious places in the Jerusalem area during the past few months.

The amount of explosives left behind by the terrorists is not yet known. Estimates ranged from 13 kilograms according to some reports, to 122 kilograms according to others.

This is not the first attack on al-Aqsa mosque by Israeli fanatics. Soon after the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem in 1967, the mosque suffered extensive damage as a result of arson. Later, Israeli extremists attacked worshippers with machine guns killing and wounding a number of people.

The most recent attempt was the most serious yet. If it had succeeded, it would have ignited sectarian strife with incalculable consequences, and it would have further inflamed the region as a whole. □

## DHEISHEH DESTRUCTION BLOCKED

In the January 1984 issue, *Palestine Perspectives* reported Israeli attempts to dismantle the Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem under the pretext of "refugee resettlement." Recently, according to the Israeli press, the decision to demolish houses and shops in the center of the camp has been rescinded. Instead of the new highway planned through the center of the camp, a bypass road will be built. This is the essence of the official reply given by Renato Jarach, senior assistant to the state attorney, to the High Court of Justice concerning the appeal submitted by residents of Dheisheh. The appeal was filed in mid-November by Lawyers Amnon Zichroni and Jonathan Kuttab, after it became public that the Israeli Army intended to "shave off" houses and shops close to the main highway.

In its reply to the High Court, the

state further promised to inform the appellants in advance and within a reasonable period of time of any changes in this policy, so that they would be able to exhaust the legal procedures before any action whatsoever is taken. It remains to be seen whether the Israeli military authorities will spare the camp which they perceive as a "hotbed" of Palestinian nationalism and resistance to Israeli occupation. □

### COMPUTERIZED COLONIZATION

An Israeli company which builds settlements in the occupied West Bank acquired an interest in a computer company to attract new settlers. Jumbo Land and Investment Company of Tel Aviv bought a 12.5 percent interest in M.L.L. Computer Service Bureau. A spokesman for the company explained the move by saying that, by setting up a computer data processing service in its settlement, Ramat Kidron near Bethlehem, the company would attract immigrants and settlers from abroad. □

### NEW FOREIGN CURRENCY REGULATIONS

The Israeli military authorities in the occupied territories reduced to \$2,000 the allocation of foreign currency that Arab residents are permitted to carry as they cross the Jordan River. A decree issued in June 1982 allowed residents of the West Bank and Gaza to bring up to \$3,000 without having to convert the amount into Israeli shekels. A special license is required by the military government to introduce larger sums in foreign currency.

West Bank businessmen said that the new restriction will make trade in the occupied territories, mostly conducted in Jordanian dinars, more difficult, and will turn most of them into lawbreakers. They explained that the special commercial links that exist with Jordan compel them to use Jordanian dinars. Having to change their foreign currency holdings into Israeli shekels will seriously damage their business dealings with Amman and will completely paralyze export activity from the West Bank to the Arab world. □



### DETAINED MAYOR RELEASED

Mr. Wahid Hamdallah, mayor of the town of Anabta in the occupied West Bank, was released from prison on January 29 after 25 days in detention. Mr. Hamdallah was arrested early in January, but he was not formally charged or tried.

The Israeli authorities claimed that the mayor was arrested on suspicion of involvement in the December 1983 killing of a collaborator, Mahmoud Bakr. Mr. Hamdallah, one of the leaders of the National Guidance Committee, charged that his arrest was politically motivated, and was a punishment for his political views in an attempt by the Israeli authorities to damage his social and political standing in the occupied territories. The Israelis failed to present any evidence to justify his detention. □

### WEST BANK TEACHER: PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

*Amnesty International defines a prisoner of conscience as one who is imprisoned because of his/her religious or political beliefs, color, sex, language, or ethnic origin, and one who neither used nor advocated the use of violence. The imprisonment of such persons is a clear violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*

*Zahera Kamal, a 36-year-old physics teacher in the occupied West Bank, has been placed under restriction by the Israeli occupation authorities since June 1980. After the restriction order against her was renewed for the seventh time in December 1983 for six more months, Amnesty International declared her to be a prisoner of conscience. Amnesty International Newsletter of January 1984 reported the following facts on Zahera Kamal and her case:*

Zahera Kamal, who had been politically active and involved in a number of Palestinian cultural and social organizations, was first served with a six-month restriction order in June 1980, in accordance with Articles 108-110 of the 1945 Defence Emergency Regulations. The order was renewed for the 7th time on 1 December 1983.

She lives with her parents in the Wadi al-Joz district of East Jerusalem and has been restricted to Jerusalem—although since late 1980 she had been permitted to travel the 12km to Ramallah each day to carry on her teaching job at the Women's Training Centre there.

She has to sign in at 2:30 p.m. every day at the Moscobiya police station, just inside West Jerusalem.

At night she is restricted to her home from an hour after sunset to an hour before sunrise. The police

often call at the house to check that she is there.

AI is concerned because she has been restricted without having been formally charged or brought before a court of law. She has not been given details of any charges against her and has no right to challenge any evidence against her.

AI groups have asked the Israeli authorities to specify why she has been restricted but have received no reply. The available information does not suggest that she was involved in the use or advocacy of violence but rather that she has been restricted because of her non-violent political activities.

She is reported to be one of at least 62 Palestinians who have been placed under town arrest or had such restriction orders renewed in Israel or the Occupied Territories during 1983. □

## Life Under Occupation

### RIGHTS (continued from page 7)

report demonstrates this fact by including appendices which show the degree of insecurity faced by Palestinians living under Israeli occupation, by giving factual information on the loss of life, liberty, and property inflicted by Israeli soldiers and armed settlers during the period of the study. The casualties included 38 Palestinians killed by soldiers and settlers, including a 7-year-old boy, Soheil Uban, from Jabaliya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. On the same day, a 55-year-old man was beaten to death by Israeli soldiers who were searching his house because his daughters participated in a demonstration.

The authors of the report described themselves and their motives as follows: "The report was written by Jews who grew up in Israel, and whose beliefs were shattered before their eyes by their findings in the occupied territories. This report is part of their protest." □

### TORTURE IN PRISON

A Palestinian political prisoner is being subjected to physical torture by Israeli interrogators, according to press reports from the occupied West Bank. Ayed Abu Baker, 27, was arrested as he returned from abroad while crossing the Allenby Bridge three months ago.

The reports say that the Israeli interrogators have been using vicious dogs to terrorize the prisoner, and to compel him to confess to a charge of membership in a PLO organization. His family appealed to local and international human rights organizations to intervene on his behalf. The family also appealed for the release of another relative, Bassam, who is imprisoned by the Israelis. Bassam has a broken leg and is being prevented from seeing a doctor, according to family sources.

### THE FRUITS OF OCCUPATION

It is not generally understood how important economic gain is as a factor in Israeli territorial expansion. By occupying Palestine, the Zionists acquired not only a state but also 6.5 million acres of real estate. By occupying the south of Lebanon, they fulfilled a dream, expressed by the World Zionist Organization's memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, of securing valuable water resources. In the occupied West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and now southern Lebanon, the Israelis acquired pools of

exploited labor and lucrative captive markets.

In the territories it occupied in 1967, Israel already has the best export market in the world. In southern Lebanon, Israel is already developing an additional market for its ailing economy. In 1983, its exports to Lebanon reached \$100 million. And the trade is essentially one-way.

Growing Lebanese resistance to the Israeli occupation in the south is no doubt motivated by the Lebanese people's repugnance to foreign military occupation. But, in no small measure, it is also motivated by the Israeli economic exploitation of the Lebanese economy. □

### OCCUPATION TROOPS KILL NABLUS TEENAGER

A 16-year-old youth was shot dead by Israeli occupation troops in Nablus on January 28. The boy, Nasser Sarisi, was shot in the neck by the commander of an Israeli "border guard" patrol. The incident took place during a protest march by students against Israeli settlement activities.

The shooting sparked a demonstration. Reinforcements were brought into the city, and Israeli soldiers fired at the crowd and pelted them with tear gas bombs. Two youths were wounded, and one of them (Hassan Shubar) was said to be in serious condition. □

### SETTLER VIOLENCE

The *Washington Post* reported from Jerusalem that people "thought to be Jewish settlers" broke into the home of an 84-year-old Palestinian near Tulkarm on the occupied West Bank and chopped off one of his fingers when he refused to sign away his land to Israeli buyers. According to the Israeli Army the incident "was not a security matter and that the police in Nablus is handling it as a criminal incident."

WAFA, the Palestine Press Agency said that there have been other incidents of Jewish settlers trying to coerce Arabs to sign over their property throughout the occupied territories. □

### 140 SETTLEMENTS

The Settlement Department of the World Zionist Organization spent 3.5 billion shekels in fiscal year 1983. According to Matityahu Drobles, head of the department, 42 percent of the 1983 budget was spent on building settlements in the West Bank; 12 percent in Gaza, 25 percent in the Jordan Valley and 21 percent in the Golan.

During a ceremony marking the opening of the Settlement Department's regional office in the West Bank, Mr. Drobles said that his department established 18 new settlements in the West Bank in 1983. He placed the number of Jewish settlers living in this area at 35,000. An additional 30,000 Jews will be added within 8 to 15 months, upon the completion of 7,000 new housing units, thus bringing the total number of Jews in the West Bank to 65,000. These figures do not include settlements in the Jerusalem area.

In reviewing the achievements of his organization, Mr. Drobles said that 140 settlements have been established in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights since 1967. Drobles promised that despite a budget cut of 9 percent for 1984, the campaign to set up new settlements will continue.

In reply to the criticism that the settlements were being built at the expense of social programs and slum rehabilitation, Mr. Drobles said "the country is saving on army camps since the settlers guard security." □

## COMMENTARY... WHEN GIANTS PLAY MIDGETS

An Israeli newspaper recently described Shamir's government as "a cabinet searching for alibis." Recent events in Lebanon made it a general knowledge that Shamir's strategic partner, the Reagan administration, is similarly a government searching for scapegoats. One is reminded of the well-known saying about the birds of a feather which flock together.

The Reagan administration maneuvered itself, or was maneuvered by Israel, into a most unenviable position. When Israel discovered that it had bit off considerably more than it could chew in Lebanon, it conscripted good old Uncle Sam to snatch its chestnuts out of the fire.

Israel pulled back to minimize its casualties, and talked the U.S. government into believing that it actually had a sacred obligation to take up the slack. Mr. Reagan jumped into the fire Israel ignited by its invasion of Lebanon. His administration rashly staked America's reputation on the achievement of Israel's own unfulfilled fantasies in Lebanon. It used U.S. land, sea, and air forces to achieve for Israel the ambitions it was not willing to pay the price of achieving for itself: to foist on Lebanon a minority government whose only "virtue" is that it was acceptable to Israel; and to force on Lebanon a treaty of one-sided peace which burdened Lebanon with obligations and heaped political, military, and economic privileges on Israel.

Above all, the Reagan administration expected the Lebanese people to be happy with its patronage, and the entire Arab nation to be grateful for its good offices. When it did not work out that way (and how could it possibly?) the Reagan administration oozed misplaced righteous indignation and blamed it all on "spoilers" and other types of "bad guys."

Leaving aside the question of fairness, it is obvious that the Reagan administration acted most irresponsibly by persisting for too long in searching for scapegoats instead of searching for ideas. And the U.S. government has less right than anybody else to be irresponsible, because the irresponsibility of a superpower could very well mean the difference between life and death to peoples the world over. This time, the people of Lebanon, again, paid the awesome price.

It is said that Secretary Shultz is largely responsible for the persistence of the mistaken belief that peace and justice can come out of the barrel of a 16-inch naval gun. It has also been said that, with him, it became a matter of vanity. The May 1983 agreement was his baby. It was his gateway to immortality as a statesman, and for that reason it ceased to be a policy and hardened into an obsession. As the Saudi ambassador in Washington put it recently, it became holy writ which had to be preserved at all costs even as Lebanon burned around it.

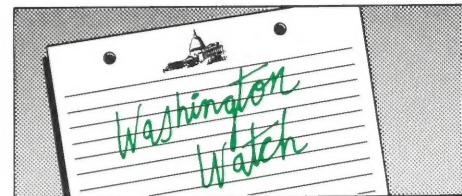
We hope that the Reagan administration will understand recent events in Lebanon as an experience to benefit from rather than a defeat to sulk about, and to understand that it is both dangerous and undignified for a superpower, especially one with a heritage of freedom, to be dragged into the mud by an over ambition little client such as Israel. □

### MOYNIHAN PARROTS ISRAELIS ON JERUSALEM

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) wants the U.S. Congress to legalize the Israeli occupation. He introduced a bill in the Senate (S.2031) which would require the U.S. embassy in Tel Aviv, and the residence of the U.S. ambassador to Israel, to be located in Jerusalem. By introducing this bill, Senator Moynihan wants the United States to break with a tradition observed by every

American administration since the creation of Israel in Palestine in 1948, and to part company with an international consensus, observed by every state in the world except Costa Rica, which alone maintains its embassy in Jerusalem.

Furthermore, Senator Moynihan's action not only endorses Israel's claim that Jerusalem is its capital, which violates the U.N. resolution which created Israel in 1948, but also endorses Israel's annexation of East



### MUBARAK'S STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON

*During their recent visit to Washington, President Mubarak of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan sought to call the Reagan administration's attention to the need for the reassessment of its Middle East policy. In his departure statement, President Mubarak stressed the need for Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon, and the need for a U.S.-Palestinian dialogue through the PLO.*

*Israel's vicious response to President Mubarak's remarks should give pause to those who argue that if the Arabs accept coexistence and mutual recognition, they would get a positive reaction from Israel. Below are the passages which deal with Lebanon and the Palestinians from Mr. Mubarak's statement, made on February 14, 1984:*

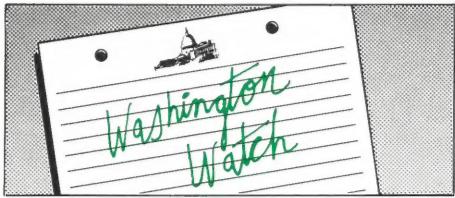
The situation in Lebanon today is intolerable. The escalation of violence and the bloodshed is a threat to us all. Every nation is called upon to help. The peacekeeping role of the U.N. must be expanded and reinforced. The partition of this war-torn country should be prevented at any cost. The Lebanese people have a right to live and prosper like all other nations.

The key to a viable solution is the prompt and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces. The Israeli invasion is the root and the cause of

*(continued on page 13)*

Jerusalem and its environs which Israel occupied in the war of 1967. Introducing his bill on October 31, 1983, Moynihan based his argument on Israel's contention, rejected by every state in the world including the United States, that "Jerusalem is and shall remain the state of Israel's capital—reunited and undivided."

Moynihan has already lined up 27 cosponsors for his bill. Similar bills have also been introduced in the House of Representatives. □



**MUBARAK** (continued from page 12) the present sad situation in the area. No problem can be solved through foreign intervention and the use of force. The Lebanese crisis is a stark reminder of the centrality of the Palestinian problem. That question must be addressed frontally and without delay.

Our purpose is to create the necessary conditions for coexistence and the mutual recognition between the Palestinians and the Israelis. This coexistence must be based on justice and the recognition of rights. First and foremost, the right of the Palestinian people's self-determination should be honored and exercised. This is the clue to peace and security for all nations, including Israel.

The Palestinian people are entitled to your support and understanding. There is no substitute for a direct dialogue with them through their chosen representative, the PLO. Such dialogue will immensely serve the cause of peace to which we are both committed. Mr. Arafat is a responsible leader who has demonstrated tremendous courage under the most difficult circumstances. A dialogue with him would reassure the Palestinian people and rekindle their hope for a better future.

No other nation can speak for the Palestinians. No other entity has a mandate to lay out their requirements for peace, and no other nation is more qualified than the American people lending their support and backing. □

#### **JACKSON: GRIM REMINDER OF VIET NAM**

*The Jackson for President Committee in Washington issued a press release condemning U.S. bombardment of Lebanon. Following is the full text of the news release:*

The Reagan administration is once again perpetrating another crude deception upon the American public. In the name of peace, this

**administration is escalating the war in Lebanon.** President Reagan has pulled back the Marines from Beirut as a concession to the mounting U.S. public opposition to their continued presence in that war zone. Having done this, **the administration is now conducting a massive destruction of Lebanese villages** through bombing and shelling by U.S. Naval forces off the coast of that embattled country. Our boys are not dying at present, but **countless numbers of civilians in the mountain villages of Lebanon are being murdered** in this latest military assault by the armed forces of the U.S. **With the kind of blind, racist arrogance that is a grim reminder of Viet Nam, the U.S. military is carpet bombing Lebanon in an act of wanton destruction.** This is accompanied by the propaganda that we are "shelling Syrian military positions in Lebanon." Even that would be wrong if it were true, since the president has no authority to get us into a war with any country, that authority rests solely with Congress.

Our armed forces are engaged in a war against Druze and Shiite Lebanese. The government that the U.S. supported in Lebanon has resigned. Its army is in disarray due to political defections. So the U.S. Naval Forces have taken up the battle and the killing continues.

"This is no time for cautious leadership. This is the time for courageous leadership. **I appeal to the churches of our nation, the peace movement and all human rights organizations to make our opposition to the rampant militarism clear.** We must escalate the public demand for peace in Lebanon and the withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from the country. It will take mass demonstrations to express the outrage of our people against this racist war policy of the Reagan administration."

We must force the Congress to cut off the funds now being used for this murderous assault on Lebanon. There is no military solution to the social and political problems of the Middle East. Our nation needs a foreign policy committed to seeking political solutions.

We need a new administration in Washington. □

#### **NAAA PROTESTS BOMBARDMENT OF LEBANON**

The National Association of Arab Americans said that U.S. Naval bombardment of Lebanon "signals a turn to a primary, aggressive and clearly partisan U.S. role in the military conflict in Lebanon." In a press release dated February 10, 1984, the Washington-based organization said it was "shocked and distressed at the resort by U.S. Naval forces to a massive and extended bombardment of the hills surrounding Beirut that has succeeded only in making a bad situation worse."

The statement by NAAA added that this resort to force has separated the U.S. from its partners in the multinational force, and in view of follow-up air strikes by Israel shows that the U.S. has moved toward military action in tandem with Israel. Furthermore, such actions "deeply compromised" America's credibility as a mediator of the conflict in Lebanon. The NAAA suggested that this role should be given to the United Nations.

The Washington area Druze community also protested the naval bombardment of Lebanon. American-Druze demonstrated outside the State Department, on February 13, and marched to the White House. They carried signs saying "Why are you killing our relatives?" and "Don't make us ashamed to be an American." Two American nurses who worked in a hospital in the Shouf Mountains in Lebanon told the *Christian Science Monitor* (February 14, 1984) that the Druze, many of whom were originally "well-disposed" to the American role have been antagonized by U.S. naval bombardment of Lebanon.

Secretary of Defense, Caspar W. Weinberger, was reported by the *Washington Post* (February 14, 1984) to be surprised and depressed by the scale of bombardment on February 8, when the battleship USS New Jersey fired 300 one-ton shells into Lebanon. The *Post* reported that the 16-inch guns of the New Jersey were described by some experts as "destructive but not totally accurate," which makes their use against densely populated Lebanon dangerous to the civilian population. □

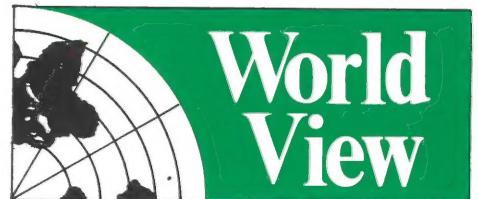


### **PEREZ CALLS FOR MIDEAST CONFERENCE**

U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar proposed before the Islamic Conference Organization's summit in Morocco the convening of an international conference on the Middle East conflict. Mr. Perez told reporters that he felt he had a mandate from the General Assembly to explore this idea with "concerned parties." However, the Secretary General made the conference conditional on Security Council approval. In his statement, Perez explained that if the UN Security Council approves this suggestion he will report to the Council by March 15 on the reactions of potential participants.

Mr. Perez de Cuellar acknowledged the difficulties involved in implementing his suggestion since certain countries might not favor such a meeting. Diplomatic observers at the UN immediately speculated that the Reagan administration would be virtually certain to veto the Perez initiative based on continued American opposition to a direct and meaningful Soviet role in Middle East peace efforts. Furthermore, presidential elections in the United States and American support of Israel also weigh against U.S. cooperation on this issue. Moreover, Israel is vehemently opposed to such a conference. The U.N. Secretary General argued that "there are a lot of different proposals" for solving the problems of the Middle East, "but no forum in which to discuss them. I think they should all be put together...and shaken up like in a cocktail shaker. Maybe something positive will come out of it."

It is worth noting that the General Assembly adopted in December (1983) a resolution urging such an expanded peace conference. The resolution was passed by 124 votes in favor to 4 votes against, with the United States and Israel among those voting no. □



### **EGYPTIAN INTELLECTUALS THREATENED**

*Al-Sha'b* reported from Cairo that a number of Egyptian intellectuals known for their anti-Zionist views received letters threatening their lives if they did not cease their "anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist activities." All the letters were similarly worded and signed by KACH, the Hebrew name of the right wing Israeli movement led by Rabbi Meir Kahane. Kahane and his Zionist thugs are known for committing acts of violence against Palestinians living under Israeli occupation. The following were among those who received such letters: Dr. Latifah al-Zayyat, chairperson of the Committee for the Protection of National Culture; Dr. Abdelwahab Elmessiri, author of many publications on Zionism including, *The Land of Promise: A Critique of Political Zionism* (1977); his assistant, Muhammad Hisham; and Mustafa Bakri, author of two books on Zionism. The letters were turned over to the Egyptian security authorities. □

### **UN PEACEKEEPING IN LEBANON**

A process has been set in motion to replace the multinational forces in the Beirut area with U.N. peacekeeping forces. France called on the U.N. Security Council, on February 15, to endorse a proposal which would require the countries which have troops in the multinational forces to withdraw them and to withdraw their fleets from Lebanese waters.

The approval of the French proposal became more likely when the Soviet Union recently informed the Security Council that it withdrew its previous objection to U.N. peacekeeping in Lebanon. The major obstacle remains the Reagan administration's apparent intention to keep naval forces off the Lebanese coast.

*The Baltimore Sun* (February 16) editorialized that "the Reagan administration might be wise to accede to the Soviet proposal that U.S. naval ships in the eastern Mediterranean be pulled out beyond shelling range of Lebanese territory." The paper called U.S. naval bombardment of Lebanon a "deplorable mistake." □

### **SAUDI FRUSTRATION WITH U.S.**

Saudi Foreign Minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal, said his country was angry and frustrated because of U.S. policy in the Middle East. He told a group of journalists in Riyadh that U.S. unquestioning support for Israel is counterproductive and detrimental to peace. He said that U.S. official

contention that support for Israel is needed to reassure it and, thus, to make it willing to compromise, is not being proven by events. "If the object of this [U.S. support] is to make Israel more able to compromise," he said, "we have seen just the opposite. Something has to change there." □

## “QUOTE UNQUOTE”

“The [Israeli] ruling authorities have ignored the principles of international pacts concerning the rights of a civilian population in occupied territory, undermined people's freedom and their basic rights, used collective punishment...and transformed humiliation into a system of rule.”

Shulamit Aloni  
Member, Israeli Knesset  
*Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, 1979-1983*

“No nation will ever succeed to build its future on the ruins of another people. Racism is also a Jewish problem. As a Jew, I cannot bear living amid racism. All of us must reject racism and combat extremism in our respective camps.”

Hayka Grossman  
Member of the Knesset (MAPAM)  
*Al-Ittihad*  
29 January 1984

“The war [in Lebanon] has taught us that might will not resolve the Palestinian problem, and that an aggressive war will not rearrange the Middle East to our liking.”

Janet Aviad  
Israeli Peace Now leader  
*Newsweek*  
20 February 1984

## SHARON PLEADS INNOCENCE

Ariel (alias Arik) Sharon, who sought to monopolize “credit” for Israel's invasion of Lebanon, is now trying to disassociate himself from the adventure. According to the *Jerusalem Post* (January 22-28, 1984), “Minister-without Portfolio Ariel Sharon, the former defense minister and true father of the war in Lebanon, is trying to wriggle out of his responsibility by claiming that he was not even in the country when the ground was being prepared for Operation Peace for Galilee in early June 1982.”

“A more pathetic argument could hardly be devised,” the *Post* commented, because his colleagues on the cabinet testify to his presence, but he is simply trying “to rub out the record of his responsibility for the Lebanese war.” The Israeli paper was not surprised at Sharon's behavior because he is a member of Shamir's cabinet which is characterized by a “massive flight” from responsibility, and whose members

From the Jerusalem Post  
(January 22-28, 1984)

## Dry Bones



“seek disingenuously to dissociate themselves from policies, both domestic and foreign, that have brought the nation to the brink of disaster.” The *Post* concluded by calling the present Israeli administration “a cabinet searching for alibis.” □

## PUNISHED WITH A PROMOTION

Brigadier General Amos Yaron, one of several senior Israeli officers found responsible for the massacre of Palestinian civilians in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in September 1982, has been promoted to the rank of major general. This promotion, coming soon after Yitzhak Shamir nominated Ariel Sharon to head the

Jewish Agency's immigration department, is seen as an attempt on the part of Shamir's government to nullify the findings of the Kahan Commission which found both Sharon and Yaron, along with other senior Israeli military commanders, responsible for the massacre. □

**Palestine  
Research  
and  
Educational  
Center**

818 18th Street, NW  
Suite 645  
Washington, DC 20006

Bulk Rate  
U.S. Postage  
**PAID**  
Washington, DC  
Permit No. 4983